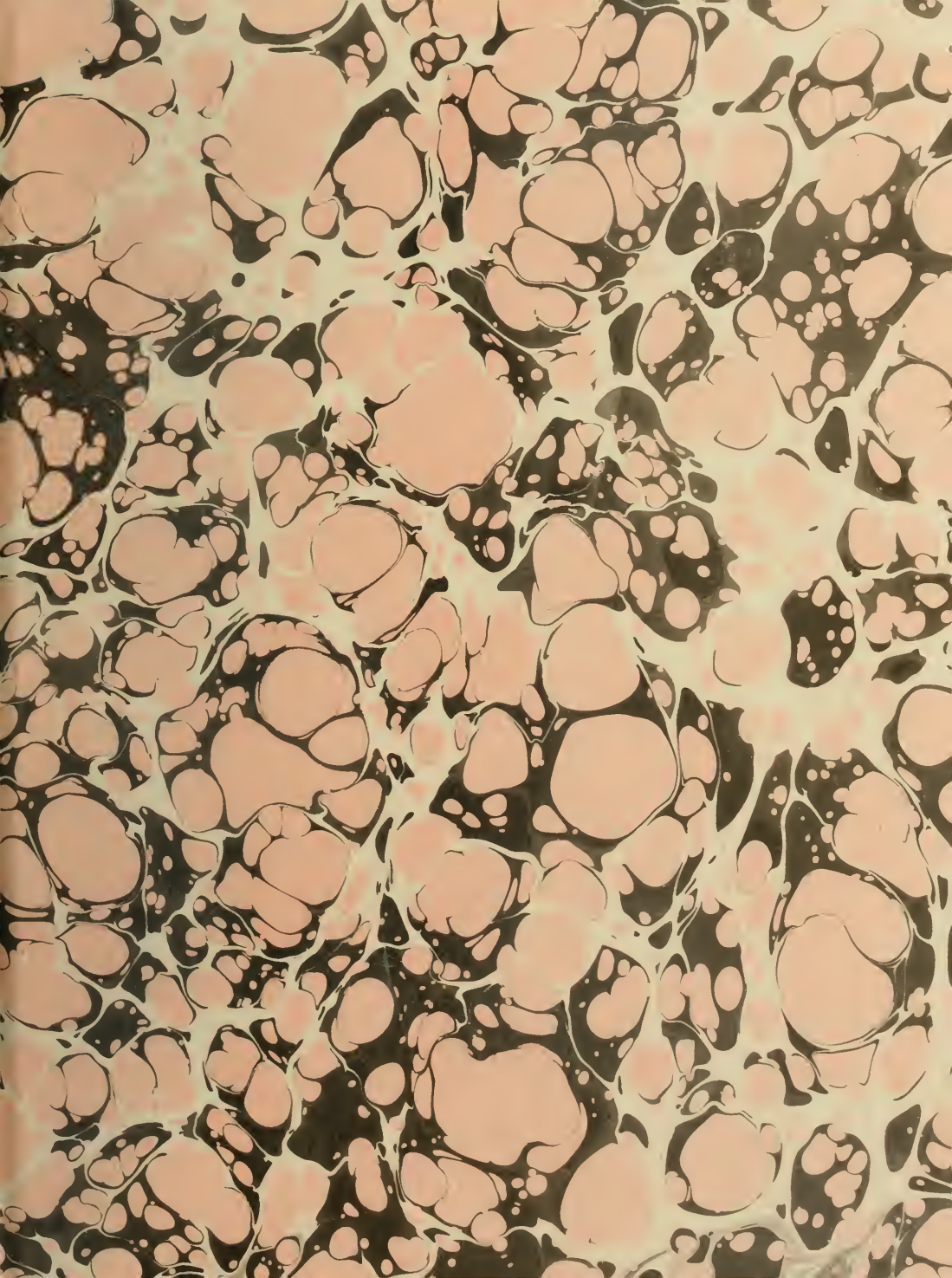

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AN

Impartial Account

OF THE

NATURE and TENDENCY

Of the Late

ADDRESSES,

IN A

LETTER

TO A

Gentleman in the COUNTRY.

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An Impartial Account, of the Nature and Tendency, of the late ADDRESSES; *in a Letter to a Gentleman in the Country.*

SECT. I.

SIR,

YOU are not miſtaken in taking it for granted, that I have read the ſeveral late *Addreſſes* to His Majeſty, for being the Subject of the chief diverſion of the Town, I ſhould have been unfit for converſation, had I not ſo far conſulted them, as to be able, as well as others, to make them the matter of diſcourſe and entertainment among my Friends. But whereas you are further pleaſed to require my inward and ſerious thoughts concerning them, I muſt crave liberty to tell you, That notwithſtanding all your Intereſt in, and Authority over me, you ſhould never have been able to have extorted from me what you deſire, did not the Service which I owe His Majeſty, and the Government, command more at my hands, than the friendſhip and deference which I pay you, could have obliged me unto. So that you are to aſcribe my compliance with your requeſt, to its falling in with the Fealty and Allegiance which I render my Prince. And the more Freedom, and leſs Reſerve, you

find me to uſe upon this Subject, you are intirely to reſolve it into the Love and Compaſſion which I bear for the King, who I fear, is not only induſtriouſly deluded, but wofully betrayed, by the judgment which ſome about him pretend to make of the ſenſe and inclination of the People from theſe Addreſſes.

SECT. II.

For no Applications of this nature to the *Regnant* perſon are to be eſteem'd of any great weight or ſignificancy, if you do but conſider the Reſult of the many Addreſſes Three and twenty year ago to *Richard Cromwell*, and how they only ſerved to render him ſecure till he was undermined and ſupplanted. For of all the *Sixteen hundred thouſand* that vow'd to Live and Dye by him, not ſo much as one man drew a Sword in his favour when he came to be laid aſide. I acknowledg, that there is a great difference betwixt an *Uſurper* and a *Rightful Sovereign*; yet that detracts very little in the preſent caſe from the importance of the conſideration which I have ſuggeſted: ſeeing the leaſt that we are to gather from it, is this, That no Addreſſes contrary to the intereſt and general humour of the Nation, are to be accounted of any value for a Prince to ſuſtain himſelf upon. And if there be nothing elſe to ſecure our late Addreſſers to His Majeſties ſervice, but there Promiſes and Proteſtations in thoſe Papers, he may be as much diſappointed ſhould he have occaſion to truſt to them; as the former Gentleman after the like ſecurity was.

SECT.

SECT. III.

It is aſtoniſhing as well as ſurpriſing, that when *Petitions* had been not only diſcountenanced but forbidden by Proclamation, *Addreſſes* ſhould ſo ſoon after be encouraged and promoted! And our amaſement is greatly heightned, when we conſider that the *Petitions* were in reference to matters which every body underſtood, and in relation to ſuch things wherein the Law juſtified the Petitioners; whereas the *Addreſſes* reſpect matters which very few underſtand, and which the Law noways authoriſeth private men to meddle with, and which none ſave a Parliament have Power or Ability to decide and determine. For tho' men are to be eſteem'd capable of knowing their own wants, fears and dangers, and ought to be juſtified in begging thoſe means of Relief and Redreſs which the Law hath provided for them; yet every one is not to be accounted ſufficiently qualified to determine concerning the Reaſonableneſs and Legality of Parliamentary Proceedings and Reſolves; nor is any number of men whatſoever, empowered to Umpire differences between His Majeſty and His great Council. And whereas thoſe very *Petitions* which ſeem'd moſt peremptory, did nevertheleſs, with all due reſignation reſerve to His Majeſty his full Prerogative, many of the *Addreſſes* import no leſs than the Robbing the Parliament, not only of their Right and Authority to Impeach Criminals, cenſure Offenders, withhold, as well as give ſupplies, but of their moſt eſſential Priviledge, *viz.* freedom of Debates.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

Nor doth it appear to conſidering Perſons, that any advantage can arrive to the King or Government by them; whereas the miſchiefs and inconveniencies which do attend them, are obvious to every one. For what elſe do they tend unto, or can they be ſuppoſed calculated for, but to divide the Nation into factions and parties, and to foment thoſe heats and animoſities among His Majeſties Liege people, Which are already too great to need to be farther heightned and enflamed. 'Tis His Majeſties deſire, as well as his intereſt and duty, to be equally eſteemed the Father and Defender of all his people; but theſe Addreſſers would poſſeſs the Nation, that they only are to be accounted His Loyal Subjects; and that all His favours are only due, and ought to be confined to them: And by threatning the generality of people, that they have forfeited His Majeſties affection and care, by refuſing to act as they do; they inſenſibly leſſen the love which His Majeſty ought to have in the hearts of all His Subjects, and wonderfully abate the zeal which they would otherwiſe have for his Service. Nor can any ſay that Petitions have the ſame Effects, ſeeing amongſt Perſons in the ſame circumſtances, ſome may repreſent their wants and grievances, without prejudicing or giving offence to thoſe who chuſe ſilently to undergo them. And who knows, but that whil'ſt ſome think they are to ſeek their Relief by humble Applications unto, and fervent Importunities of their Prince; there may be others who hope, that their Soveraign may from the ſenſe which he hath of their

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their Calamities, afford them, at laſt, all the ſuccour he can, without the ſolicitation of their cries? But the nature of theſe Addreſſes being to commend and applaud the preſent poſture of affairs, and to juſtify moſt of the ſteps and councels by which we have been reduced into this doleful condition; they do in effect declare every one to be peeviſh and clamorous, that cannot acquieſce and rejoice in this ſtate of things under which we groan and labour. And as they hereby render all thoſe enemies unto them, whoſe ſafety and happineſs they are conceived, not only to abandon, but deſtroy; ſo the very Government, through the characters of Grace and Favour which it placeth upon their Applications, runs a hazard of loſing much of its reſpect and veneration.

SECT. V.

And beſides this and many other miſchiefs, which they do naturally involve the Government and the Kingdom under; they will be found prejudicial and inconvenient to the King, in the tendency which they have to deceive and abuſe him. For whereas they are deſigned to perſwade His Majeſty, that what they repreſent and ſuggeſt, is the common and univerſal ſenſe of his people, and that he may accordingly take his meaſures; it is both evident in it ſelf, and will be found ſo in the iſſue, that they contain and expreſs only the ſentiments of a few perſons of little intereſt, and moſt of them of a very ſmall and mean figure in the Nation. For if Elections of Members to ſerve in Parliament, be the beſt ſtandard to judge the diſpoſition of the Kingdom by,

by, it is not ſo long ſince we had an opportunity of feeling the Pulſe of the Nation; but that we may reaſonably conclude, that all other things remaining as they did, the temper and complexion of the generality of the people, is alſo much the ſame. And whenſoever His Majeſty ſhall either find himſelf obliged from the neceſſity of His Affairs, or from the goodneſs of His Inclinations be pleaſed, to call a Parliament, How little will he, upon a diſappointment of what he is made to believe and expect, judge himſelf indebted to thoſe who have ſo induſtriouſly deluded him?

SECT. VI.

And as they are no ways ſubſervient to His Majeſties profit or ſervice; ſo neither will they in the event prove ſo uſeful either to a Popiſh or Arbitrary Deſign as ſome do apprehend. Not that any think the King knows of ſuch a Deſign promoted by them; but there are thoſe who may have ends in this, as in the *Dutch*-War and *Black-Heath*-Army, which His Majeſty was not aware of. But tho' ſome little creatures may have ultimately aim'd at ſome ſuch thing, by promoting of them; yet ſuch villanous deſigns are, in charity, to be ſuppoſed far from the intentions of moſt that have ſubſcribed them. And accordingly, when divers of the moſt zealous Actors in the carrying them on, have been calmly told what were the natural and ill tendencies of them, they have ſolemnly profeſſed, that they would ſooner be hanged at their own doors, than be intentionally acceſſory to the eſtabliſhing a Deſpotical Rule over the Nation, or the enſlaving the Kingdom to Popery

pery again. Nay, it is to be hoped, that ſhould either or both theſe, at any time hereafter, more neerly and viſibly threaten *England*, that many of the preſent Addreſſers will, in their lawful ſtations, be amongſt the moſt forward and zealous to withſtand them. Nor will they in ſuch a caſe find any way to expiate their indiſcretion, and attone for their preſent folly, but by thus demonſtrating, that it was no part of their intention hereby to contribute to theſe things. And ſhould any in the Liſt of the late *Thanksgivers*, be hereafter found to have promoted Addreſſes with a proſpect of introducing either Tyranny or the Papal worſhip, the names and pretences of Law and the Proteſtant Religion, which they have not only flouriſhed their Papers with, but made His Majeſties promiſe of preſerving them the ground of their acknowledgments, and the foundation of the Tenders which they have made of their Lives and Fortunes, will entail an everlaſting infamy upon them, and render them the objects of all mens contempt and indignation. And in the mean time, the jealouſies and fears which ſome are ſaid to have conceived of a Popiſh and Arbitrary deſign at the bottom of the Addreſſes, do by quickning the watchfulneſs of the Nation, ſerve not only to countermine, but to give them a total diſapointment therein.

SECT. VII.

Nor yet in the next place, is the number of the Subſcribers ſo conſiderable, as to bear any proportion to thoſe who are againſt them. For tho' a few buſie people have made a great noiſe and buz in ſeveral pla-

ces of the Kingdom, yet all of them put together, make not so great a number as we have seen not long since to one Petition for a Parliament. So that it is matter of wonder, that the Government for its own reputation hath not in some publick way prohibited and forbid them, and especially when it finds, that after all the neglect and scorn which the Addressers are exposed unto for their paucity and fewness, yet they have not the discretion to forbear and desist. Sir, you must needs have observed by reading the *Gazett's*, where you have the Inventory of them, that almost all the Counties, and the most principal Cities, such as *London* and *York*, and the chiefest *Towns* and *Corporations* have forbore and declined presenting any. And I may add, that even where they have been obtained, not *One* in *Ten*, and in some places not *One* in a *Hundred* had any hand in, or gave concurrence to them. For if it be allowed, as in justice as well as modesty it ought, that whosoever have either avoided or refused subscribing, are as truely to be judged against them, as they who have positively withstood, or directly opposed them, then the *Tale* of the Addressers will make but a very small show and appearance in the muster Roll of the Nation.

SECT. VIII.

And this is the rather to be taken notice of, and doth the better evidence what opinion the people have of them, if you consider the means, ways, arts and methods that have been used and taken to advance and promote them. For besides that most of the Clergy, and many in the present Commissions both Civil and Military

Military, as well as ſeveral of the Magiſtrates of Corporations, have not only intereſted themſelves in countenancing, but been ſticklers for them, as for the great *Charter* or *Petition* of *Right*: The Grace and Favour with which they have been received, and the marks and characters of honour which have been conferred upon divers that preſented them, who for ought the world knows, had no ſignal matter elſe to recommend them, were very proper means to have procured an univerſal and national application. And yet neither the influence of thoſe who pretend to preſcribe unto the underſtandings, as well as to direct and conduct the Conſciences of men; nor the authority and advice of thoſe, to whom all are willing to pay a reſpect and obedience, in whatſoever their Intereſt, Religion, and the Law will ſuffer them; nor yet the hopes of Titles and Honours, which ſome merely for that ſervice have, in the trueſt ſence, been loaded with, have been effectual to prevail with, or bring over any great or valuable number to joyn in them. And ſhould I tell you what other Arts have been purſued to obtain men to Addreſs, you would ſay, that either a ſullen croſneſs, or ſome more generous principle had poſſeſſed the Nation, that perſons ſhould every where ſo generally refuſe and withſtand them.

SECT. IX.

And if you more narrowly enquire into the condition of thoſe that are engaged in the Addreſſes, you will find their quality for the moſt part as inconſiderable as their number. The greateſt part of thoſe who

have given thanks for Diſſolving Parliaments, are ſuch as either for want of years, or poverty, were never capable of giving a Vote in Election of Members to ſit in them. Setting aſide Two or Three, or a few more in a Town or Corporation that have embark't in them, the greateſt part are made up of the ſcum and refuſe of the places where they live. *Norwich*, whence we have been alarm'd with the greateſt noiſe, yields but a ſmall number of perſons either of eſtate or uſefulneſs, whoſe hands were annexed to the Paper which was ſent up.

SECT. X.

Nor is the moral condition of the Addreſſers, diſſagreeable to their civil: For not to mention, that thoſe who are moſt Popiſhly inclined, have enrolled themſelves among the firſt in the reſpective Liſts and Subſcriptions, ſeveral others of them are ſuch who were formerly either in the number of Abhorrers of Petitions, or guilty of one offence or another which the laſt Parliaments were about calling them to an account for. And whereſoever there is either a little bankrupt Tradeſman, a ſcandalous and diſgrac'd Attorney, one whoſe neceſſity expoſeth him to be biaſed by Cruſts of Bread and Pots of Ale, any whoſe folly makes them pragmatical and impertinent, or whoſe prodigality and ambition forceth them to look for preferment beyond their merit, theſe are infallibly in the front of the Addreſſers, and the unwearied and induſtrious procurers of thanks to His Majeſty for Diſſolving Parliaments. So that for many of them, their manners are ſuch, that did the King but truly underſtand what Character they paſs under

under where they are known, he would esteem it a reflection upon His Honour, and and an aspersion upon the wisdom and equity of His proceedings, to be either approached or thanked by them.

SECT. XI.

And for their Politicks, they are in most of them proportionate to their morals, and agreeable to the condition which their birth, education and fortune have stated them in. For can any man believe that the *Mayors, Headboroughs, Aldermen, Bailiffs, Burgesses* and *Freemen* of *Rippon, Wigan, Windsor, Chatham, Haslemere, New-Sarum,* &c. are competent judges of what the late Houses of Commons did legally or illegally? of what is according or contrary to the Laws and Customs of Parliament? or what is agreable or disagreable to the fundamental constitution of the Land, which as well limits the Prerogative of the King, as fixeth the Rights, Liberties, and Authority of Lords and Commons; when almost all the *Ancients* and *Benchers,* and most of the *Barristers,* as well as *Students* of the several *Inns* of Court have declared that they are things above them, and which they have neither power nor ability to make a determination concerning? Surely the Learned *Gentlemen* of the *Gown* are at least as well qualified to give their sense and opinion about these matters, as Country *Mercers, Innkeepers, Taylers* and *Thatchers* are; and yet those refuse to meddle with Addresses, as referring to things which appertain not unto them, whilst the latter make themselves Arbitrators between the King and Two Parliaments, and from their profound wisdom pass

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ſentence againſt their Repreſentatives. The Gentlemen of the Long-Robe have beſides their Loyalty, wherein none dare pretend to outſtrip an exceed them, as great obligations ariſing from intereſt to have ſway'd them to accommodate themſelves to the wiſhes and deſires of the Court in this matter, as any perſons in the Nation have; and therefore it can be nothing but their knowledg of, and their value for the Laws of the Kingdom, with the Reverence which they are ever reſolved to maintain for Parliaments, that could have made them oppoſe Addreſſes, and thereby venture the diſpleaſing thoſe, to whom they owe, and from whom they expect ſo much. Nor will Twenty thouſand Hands to Addreſſes from Country Corporations, make that impreſſion upon the minds of modeſt and thinking men, as their being caſt out and refuſed by the *Benchers* and *Barriſters* of the *Inns* of Court.

SECT. XII.

Having thus far acquainted you with my freeſt and moſt Natural thoughts in General about them, it is time now that we more neerly inſpect and paſs our Judgment upon the matter of them: And if I miſtake not, the Preſuming to give His Majeſty Thanks for *his Promiſing to Govern by Law*, is no leſs than a Diſloyal and groſs Reflection upon him. For will not ſome men hereupon think that he hath Adminiſtered ſome juſt ground of fear or Belief, as if he intended to govern Arbitrarily? Or doth it not inſinuate that he is ſo unconfin'd, that if he pleaſe he may do ſo? Or may we not ſay, that it plainly Intimates, that the beſt ſecurity

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which we have to rely upon why he will not, is His Royal Word in his Late Declaration? It doth unbecome Engliſh Subjects to thank their Prince for Promiſing to Govern by Law, ſeeing as he never did, ſo he cannot do otherwiſe. His Miniſters may act illegaly, and they are Lyable to anſwer for it; but he can do nothing but what the Law Directs and Juſtifies. Nor is he only bound to this by his Coronation Oath, which is however a more Sacred and Solemn tye than a Promiſe in a Declaration; but his own Greatneſs, and his very Prerogative, as having their own Foundations in the Law, oblige him to it. For as *Bracton* ſays, *Rex habet ſuperiorem Legem per quam factus eſt Rex*, Lib. 3. de Act. n. Cap. 9. Sect. 3. And therefore that *Lex frænum eſt Regis potentiæ*, The Law bounds and limits the King's Power. Nor can he, ſays *Forteſcue* De Leg. Angl. *Govern his People by any other Power, than the Law.* And as *Bracton* expreſſeth it, *(ubi ſupra) Rex nihil poteſt, niſi id ſolum quod de jure poteſt*; The King can do nothing, but what he can do by Law.

SECT. XIII.

But you will the leſs marvel at their returning His Majeſty thanks for promiſing to Govern by Law, ſeeing the Tenor of all the Addreſſes is to intimate, That all the Right or Claim which we have by Law, in our Lives, Liberties, or Eſtates, is dependent upon His Majeſties Will and Pleaſure. This all of them ſuggeſt and inſinuate, and ſome of them do very fully expreſs. What elſe can be meant by their thanking His Majeſty, *For his unparaleld Grace, Favour and*

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Addreſs from *Chatham.* Addreſs from *Darby.* Addr. from *Barnſtable.* Addr. from *Haſlemere.*

Goodneſs, in purpoſing to continue to them their juſt Rights, Liberties and Properties. And for His Reſolution, that (notwithſtanding many Provocations) yet His Majeſty will Govern in all things according to the Laws of the Kingdom. And for his Princely Purpoſe, never to invade the Liberties of his Subjects. And that he hath declared, *He will never uſe Arbitrary Government.* Do not theſe and all the other Addreſſes imply, That tho' the Laws ſpeak of Rights, Liberties, and Properties which belong unto us; yet they are not ſo ſecured unto us, but that His Majeſty, were it not for the juſt and gracious Temper of his Nature, might invade and deſtroy them? And is not this to ſacrifice, as far as in them lies, *Magna Charta, Petition of Right,* and our *Statute* and *Common-Laws,* to the Soveraign Will and Arbitrary pleaſure of the Prince? Whereas, thanks be to God, the King can neither diſſeiſe a man of his Liberty, nor break in upon his Property; but we are enabled to relieve our ſelves in His Majeſties Courts. Nor are theſe men, for all their ſeeming to abandon Themſelves, Lives, Liberties and Properties to His Majeſty's Will, to be too much truſted or relied upon by His Majeſty, ſhould he be tempted contrary to his Duty and Inclination, to offer at any thing Illegal, conſidering how unjuſtly clamorous they have been againſt the Houſe of Commons, *For their Illegal Votes and Orders, and uſurping upon their Perſons and Eſtates. For Tyrannizing over their Fellow-Subjects. For their Arbitrary Proceedings in the two laſt Parliaments, and their Unlimited and Illegal Im-Impriſonments, and their Meſſengers exorbitant, exacting, pretended fees contrary to Magna Charta.* For if they be ſo heated and tranſported againſt their own and the

Addr. from the Weſtern Diviſion of *Suſſex.* Addr. from *Exon.* Addr. from *Norwich.*

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King doms Repreſentatives, when very many wiſe, learned, and indifferent perſons, and who are as jealous of the leaſt invaſion upon the liberty and property of the Subject, as any in the Nation, think that the Houſe of Commons did nothing in all the Caſes that are with ſo much warmth and reſentment reflected upon, but what they both might and ought to do by the Laws of the Land and Parliamentary Preſidents; Is it to be imagined, that they would very tamely looſe their Lives, or ſuffer themſelves to be ſilently diſpoſſeſſed of their Eſtates, at the ſole and indiſputable pleaſure of the Prince?

SECT. XIV.

And whereas by all the Addreſſes they teſtifie with what approbation they have received His Majeſties late Declaration; it is too plain, that thereby they intimate their Satisfaction in the Diſſolution of ſo many Parliaments. Nay ſome of them expreſly *publiſh their unanimous conſent and delight therein.* And others return His Majeſty *ſolemn thanks for giving his two laſt Parliaments ſuch timely Diſſolutions.* Had theſe people the diſcretion and modeſty which might become them, they would have eſteem'd themſelves very improper and unſufficient Judges of the prudentialneſs of that exerciſe of Royal Power. And this is the firſt preſident that ever *England* ſaw, of any Commoners giving His Majeſty thanks for diſmiſſing Parliaments. For tho' ſome of our former Kings have, upon Miſunderſtandings ariſen between them and their Parliaments, abruptly Diſſolved them, and Publiſhed very weighty Declara-

Addr. from *Briſtol.*

Addr. from *Norwich.*

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tions in Juſtification of what they did ; yet whatever Submiſſion the people yielded to what theſe Princes had done, or how ſeaſonable and juſtifiable ſoever they in their own minds believed it, they never Addreſſed theſe Monarchs in a way of Thanks for doing of it. And tho' poſſibly the laſt Long Parliament, was through its long Sitting, eſteemed a great grievance to the Nation, and too many of its Members judged eaſily manageable for betraying the liberty of the Subject, had they been powerfully tempted thereunto, and tho' His Majeſties Diſſolving them was entertained with an Univerſal joy, yet none had the folly to thank him for it, as knowing of what fatal conſequence ſuch an action might afterwards prove. And whether the many acknowledgments which ſome have returned the King for Diſſolving Two ſuch Parliaments, that for what appears by their Printed *Votes* and *Debates*, were filled with Men of as great integrity and ability , as well as Gentlemen of as great Eſtates, as have in any age met together in the great Councel and Senate of the Kingdom; do become thoſe that are well-wiſhers to the Proteſtant Religion either at home or abroad, or ſuch as have duly conſidered the preſent ſtate of the Nation, and the many dangers with which it is encompaſſed, may be worthy of their moſt ſerious thoughts, when they are at leaſure to look back upon, and examine what they have done. Surely thoſe men, who at the ſame time thank the King for promiſing to Govern by Law, never conſidered that it is both a fundamental Law of the Kingdom, and much of the ſoul and life of all our Laws, not only to have frequent Parliaments, but have them permitted to ſit to diſpatch the affairs of

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the Nation. Nor can they be ſuppoſed to have ſeriouſly weighed how when the Kingdom ſeems in ſo much danger from an aſpiring and formidable Neighbour, our Religion and Lives ſo greatly in hazard by the helliſh conſpiracies of the Papiſts, our Allies in ſo much need of countenance and aſſiſtance, that the King, tho' never ſo well inclined, as we will always believe His Majeſty to be, cannot without the concurrence, aid and advice of a Parliament, do any thing that may effectually anſwer thoſe weighty, importunate and loud calls. For what can His Majeſty be conceived able to do in ſuch circumſtances, when he hath neither power over the Purſes of his people, nor can ſo much as command the *Militia* of the Nation to march out of their reſpective Counties? But that which theſe Addreſſes imply, which is yet of more dangerous importance, is that the very Being of Parliaments doth wholly depend upon the will & pleaſure of the King. Whereas ſuch a ſuppoſal is inconſiſtent with the conſtitution of the Kingdom, does noway comport with the ends of our Government, and might prove very dangerous to the ſafety and happineſs of the Nation, in caſe we ſhould hereafter have a King void of compaſſion to, and regardleſs of the intereſt of his people. For tho' it be left to the Wiſdom of the Soveraign where he will have Parliaments to Aſſemble, and belongs to His Prerogative to call them when his own Princely occaſions, or the neceſſities of his people do require; yet the Law which His Majeſty is ſworn to obſerve, it being a part of His Coronation Oath, *Tenere Leges & conſuetudines Regni*, doth both provide that we ſhall have *Annual* Parliaments, and by directing the ends for, and the affairs about which they are to meet, doth

4 *Ed.* 3. *cap.* 14.
36. *Ed.* 3. *cap.* 10.

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doth at leaſt imply ſomething of their continuing to ſit till thoſe affairs be accompliſhed, and the ſaid ends compaſſed and obtained. Nor will His Majeſty be ever induced to believe that he can be thought to Govern according to Law, without calling Parliaments whenſoever the diſtreſſes and grievances of His people beſpeak and require them. Neither is it to be imagined that he ſhould long harbour any ſuch thought in His Royal breaſt, That he can anſwer the directions and ends of the Law, without permitting Parliaments to ſit ſuch a convenient ſeaſon, as that they may in conjunction with His Majeſty, relieve the people from their manifold fears, redreſs the numerous and ſore grievances of the Nation, and provide for the ſafety, ſtrength, and honour of the Kingdom.

SECT. XV.

In the next place, All the Addreſſes ſeem to be fram'd towards the expreſſing a willingneſs in the People, that the Duke of *York* ſhould ſucceed his Majeſty. And this they inſinuate a readineſs in the Addreſſers to further, without the leaſt deſire to have any proviſion made before-hand for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion, or Save-guarding the Lives of ſuch as profeſs it, under the Reign of one that is a known and violent Papiſt. For whilſt the Addreſſers are pleaſed to ſay, *That it is the Kingdoms Intereſt to continue the Succeſſion in its Due and Right Line*; And take upon them to thank his Majeſty, *For his unalterable Reſolutions to preſerve the Crown in its due and Legal courſe of Deſcent*; *and undertake to ſacrifice their Lives to preſerve*

Addr. from the County of *Somerſet.*
Addr. from *Cambridge*, *Ripon*, Weſtern Diviſion of *Surrey.*

ſerve the Kings Heirs and lawful Succeſſors. And *offer their Lives and Fortunes to his Majeſties Diſpoſal for this purpoſe*; All people do ſufficiently underſtand what they aim at, and that the meaning of all this is, That they would have the Duke of *York* come to the Throne. But I wiſh they had ſhown ſo much Ingenuity and Candour, as to have taken notice and acknowledged, that all His Majeſties Subjects are as tender of the Preſervation of the Monarchy, and as zealous to have it continued in the Royal Line, as any of themſelves dare pretend to be. For it is more than probable, that nothing ſo much influenced the bringing and preſſing the *Bill of Excluſion*, as a regard to the Preſervation of the Monarchy; which ſome of the beſt, wiſeſt, and moſt Loyal of His Majeſty's Subjects think the coming to have a Popiſh King may ſhake and endanger; eſpecially conſidering what this Nation felt from the laſt Papiſt that poſſeſt the Throne; and how it hath been of late, and ſtill is threatned by the Bloody Conſpiracies of the *Romiſh* Party. Beſides, it had not been amiſs, if our late Addreſſers had owned, that the King, Lords and Commons have a Power to diſpoſe of the Succeſſion, as they ſhall judge moſt conducible to the Safety, Intereſt and Happineſs of the Kingdom; and that he is His Majeſties Heir and Succeſſor, upon whom the whole Legiſlative Power ſhall think meet to ſettle the Inheritance of the Crown. Nor would it have misbecome men profeſſing the *Proteſtant* Religion, and tender of *Engliſh* Liberties, to have recommended to His Majeſties ſecond Thoughts and maturer Advice, what three ſeveral Parliaments have with ſo much ſtrength of Reaſon inſiſted upon, and with ſo much

Addr. from *Hertford.*

Addr. from *Monmouth.*

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earneſtneſs purſued and deſired. And I wiſh they were able to tell us what they mean, when at the ſame time that they engage to defend the *Proteſtant* Religion, they vow, *to the laſt drop of their Blood, to ſtand by the next Succeſſor*; And the rather, becauſe there is ſome reaſon to believe, that many of them will not be over-forward to dye Martyrs. It would be alſo ſome ſatisfaction to be inſtructed, how they think *to defend the Crown*, in the Preſervation whereof they pretend to be ready *To ſacrifice themſelves and all they have*; ſeeing by being willing to admit a Papiſt to be King, they conſent to the robbing it of the *Supremacy*, which is one of the brighteſt Jewels in it. However it is ſome comfort, that one end of ſetting on foot and carrying on theſe Addreſſes, being to make a *Survey* and obtain a *Liſt* of all that were for the *Duke of York*, they do not upon the *Muſter-Rolls* appear ſo many as to endanger the Nation in a *Civil War*, in caſe the King ſhould hereafter ſo far comply with the humble Requeſts of his People, as to be willing to paſs the *Bill of Excluſion*, if tendred to him by a future Parliament.

SECT. XVI.

But beſides what is already ſaid concerning the Quality and Deſign of the ſaid Addreſſes, there is this farther tendency in them all, namely, to inſinuate to the Nation, that we have and enjoy a ſufficient Security for our Religion, Lives and Liberties. For as if it were not enough to acknowledge, as all His Ma-

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jeſties Liege-people do, *His Majeſties Eaſie, Juſt, and moſt Gracious Government ſince His Reſtoration; and to teſtifie their ſenſe of the Felicity and Happineſs which all His Majeſties Subjects have moſt comfortably enjoyed under a moſt Regular, Gracious and Peaceful Government*: They are pleaſed further to add, that His Majeſties Promiſe in his late Declaration, *Of adhering to the Laws of the Land, and making them the Rule of his Government, is not only ſufficient to allay all mens Fears and Jealouſies, remove the Miſunderſtandings of all well-meaning and reaſonable People, and give us all poſſible aſſurance of enjoying the greateſt Liberty and beſt Religion that any people in the world have; but that no greater Security can be had or hoped for, in order to the enjoying our Religion, Liberties and Properties, than His Majeſties Royal Word to Govern by the Laws.* Whereas not only four Parliaments have repreſented and declared the manifold Dangers by which our Religion, Lives and Properties, are threatned and encompaſſed; and how difficult, if not impoſſible it is, to preſerve and ſecure them from the Deſigns that are laid againſt them; but the King alſo hath been pleaſed to ſignifie the ſame; and that as well in ſeveral Proclamations publiſhed for the informing of His People, as in divers Speeches to His two Houſes of Parliament, whoſe Advice He both thereupon required; and alſo that effectual Laws might be made for the obviating and preventing thoſe many Miſchiefs and Dangers that are impending over us. And if the King's hitherto governing by Law, hath not been ſufficient to diſcourage our Popiſh Enemies from Conſpiring our Deſtruction; Can it be apprehended, That His Majeſties *adherence to the Laws* for the future, will

Addr. from *Derby*, and from the Military Officers of *Surrey*
Addr. from *Briſtol*, and from *Dorſet*.
Addr. from *Lynn Regis*, *Clifton*, *Dartmouth*, *Harneſs*; Grand Inqueſt of the County of *Oxon*, *Briſtol*, &c.

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will remove the Jealouſies, and allay the Fears which we have of the Papiſts? Beſides, tho' His Majeſty is always to be ſuppoſed reſolved and inclined to Govern by Law, yet there want not too many Inſtances, wherein His Miniſters that are truſted with the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, have to the great prejudice of the Subject, and the Alarming the whole Nation, failed in their Duty. Our dreadful Apprehenſions do not proceed from any ill Opinion which we have of the King, but from the implacable Hatred which the Romiſh Faction bear as well againſt Him, as His Proteſtant Subjects; and from the Corruption of thoſe Officers of Juſtice, who do either abuſe or pervert the Law to baſe Ends, or hinder its due and Legal Execution. Nor is it our having good Laws, but their being truely executed, that will advantage and relieve us; and therefore we are to be pardoned tho' we profeſs our ſelves doubtful of our ſecurity by them, whilſt ſome that have been entruſted with the adminiſtration of them, are ſuffered to eſcape the puniſhments which they have deſerved for obſtructing their courſe, and for perverting of them. And what if we ſhould with all thankfulneſs acknowledg, that we are in ſome ſecurity during His Majeſties Life, will the Laws which we have, without ſome farther and more effectual proviſion before His Majeſties Death, contribute much to our ſafety, when we ſhall hereafter have a Popiſh King to Reign over us? But can theſe men be ſuppoſed in earneſt, when they tell us that the Nation is in no danger, while the Papiſts continue ſo active to extirpate the *Northern Hereſie*, and are in a more hopeful way to effect it than ever? Alas! the Popiſh Plot, inſtead of being defeated, is not ſo

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much as yet throughly detected: And instead of the Papists being dismay'd by that discovery which hath been made, or by the justice which hath been inflicted upon some of the Criminals, they are only enflam'd to prosecute their diveliſh conspiracy with the greater vigour, and to execute what they intend with more bloody rage. Can any man that is not void of common sense believe, that we are safe and out of danger, when every true Protestant is in daily hazard through their Sham-plots, and by their hiring and suborning vile and execrable Villains to Swear Treason against those that have any zeal for our Religion and Civil Liberties? How can we be supposed arrived at any measure of Safety, when there are an Hundred things absolutely necessary to be done towards our preservation, wherein the King tho' fully disposed *to adhere to the Laws*, is in no capacity to meddle, without the assistance and concurrence of his Parliament? And therefore if men will after all that they have seen, felt, heard and read of a damnable Popish Plot to destroy the person of the King, overthrow the established Religion, and enslave the Nation to an Antichristian forraign Power, flatter themselves upon a bare Declaration, that His Majesty will *Govern by Law*, that thereupon all is safe and secure, they must not take it ill if they be thought accessary to their own and the Kingdoms ruine through their dull and blockish incredulity, to say no worse.

SECT. XVII.

Another ill tendency of most, if not all the Addresses, is the reviving the memory of the late unhappy trou-

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bles, which is the intereſt both of His Majeſty and the whole Kingdom to have buried in perpetual oblivion. For the mentioning of that War with reflection and bitterneſs, ſerves only to make men remember three haſty Diſſolutions of Parliaments, and Twelve years want of one, with ſome other things which fell out in that ſpace, all which both preceded and had too great an influence towards the cauſing of it. Beſides, there was a Maſſacre of the Proteſtants in *Ireland* by the Papiſts there, and a bloody War commenced for the extirpation of the Engliſh Government in that Kingdom; which as it too much exaſperated the minds of men towards that unhappy War which begun here, ſo I fear the upbraiding men too much with their concern in thoſe troubles, will not prove very uſeful to the party that appears moſt forward in it. Nor is it eaſie to be imagined how the mention of the late War comes to be brought upon the Stage at this time of day, ſeeing moſt that were believed either the firſt fomenters of, or proved afterwards Actors in it, are dead and gone; and for their Children (witneſs many of the moſt violent and high flown Clergy) they are commonly found to be of Principles directly contrary to what they were. Nay, that which renders all reproachful Diſcourſe of that War at this juncture ſtill more ſtrange, is that the ignominy and *odium* of it is deſigned to fall upon many of the chiefeſt of thoſe that ſerved under the Banners of the late King, or upon ſuch who ſprung from them that did, and have their Fathers loyalty mixed with their blood. And to deal plainly, I know nothing that can ſo plauſibly juſtifie the Parliaments Cauſe in that War, as the telling the World that there was little or

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no difference betwixt their Principles and the Principles of thoſe that ſet in the Two laſt Parliaments, whoſe actings the Addreſſers do with ſo much indecency brand and aſperſe. And the language that is dayly beſtowed upon the Members of theſe late Parliaments, as being men of the ſame complexion that they of the Parliament Forty one were, will, inſtead of leaving any reproach upon them on whom it is intended to be faſtned, beget a better opinion of thoſe to whom they are compared, than the Addreſſers would be willing that they of this Age ſhould find reaſon to entertain. I may add, that none have lived more peaceably, and with better ſubmiſſion, under His Majeſties Government, than they who were engaged on the Parliaments ſide in that unhappy War; and therefore it doth not ſeem an act of any great prudence to diſcourage them in their obedience, by upbraiding them with that, which the Law hath not only pardoned, but which they have expiated by their loyalty ſince. Nor do I think that when the Parliament, after the Kings Reſtauration, made the Act of *Indemnity*, wherein among other things enacted which they judged neceſſary towards the Settlement of the Nation, they prohibited, under a Penalty, one man's reproaching another with his being concerned in that War, during the ſpace of three years after the date of the ſaid Act, that ever they intended, that men ſhould afterwards with the greateſt Licenciouſneſs and Scurrility upbraid one another with it. Nay, they hop'd, that if the Spirits and Tongues of men were ſo long bridled and reſtrain'd, their Animoſities would be wholy extinguiſhed before the expiration of that time. And none but men of very implacable Spirits would

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call over, and with so much *Satyr* asperse men for these things; especially when there hath not been the least cause administred for it: unless it be, that such have a greater tenderness and value for the Protestant Religion and *English* Liberties, than to desire they should come to lye at the discretion of a Popish Prince, as the Addressers plainly wish they may.

SECT. XVIII.

As our Affairs are now circumstanced, and as the state of the Protestant Religion stands at present in *England*, the Addresses carry another ill Design in them, which is, to enflame differences further among our selves, and thereby betray us into the hands of Popish Adversaries. For as if the principal thing we were to aim at, were not the preserving our Religion against the Conspiracies of the Papists, and as if the united strength of all Protestants were not little enough to effect and obtain it; no less will serve most, if not all of the late Addressers, than the Executing the Laws with the utmost Severity against Protestant Dissenters. And as if there very thinking of a Phanatick had made them *delirous*, they will not allow the Parliament to make the least abatement in the terms of Conformity, or to give Indulgence in, or dispense with one Ceremony; though all the *Ceremonies*, and the present *Form of Worship*, and the very *Hierarchy* it self, can plead no other Authority by which they are enjoined, or by which the Subjects of this Land are bound to comply with and submit to them, but some Acts of Parliament. Nay, so little do the persons, that have

have Subscribed the Addresses, understand the Interest of the *Protestant* Religion, as now by Law established, that they would not have an Act to be repealed, which may under a Popish Prince, and in case Popery come to be set up, prove as fatal and mischivous to them that are at this time the Conformable Clergy, as it will to the Dissenters; tho' at present it do only reach and be applied to the latter. And that I may not seem to impose upon them, Is not all this the full and plain import of their joining *Popish Recusants* and *Seditious Sectaries* all along together? Of their affirming *Fanatical* Parties to be as dangerous as *Popish*? Of reckoning up the *pernicious* endeavours of the *Sectaries*, in consort with the Deviliſh Designs of the Papists? And as if this were not sufficient to declare what they mean, they not only take upon them to thank His Majesty, *For not passing Limitations or Nullifications of such wholesome Acts as were designed for Preservation of the Reformed Religion, especially the 35th of Queen* Elizabeth, *and for not suffering that Law, and others made against Conventicles to be Repealed: but they humbly pray His Majesty, that those Laws now in force, may vigorously, speedily and equally be put in Execution against all Papists and Protestant Dissenters*; And particularly, *that the Statutes of the third of King* James, *and the five and thirtieth of Queen* Elizabeth *may be put and continued in their due Execution.* It is something strange to find a company of men so zealous for the Protestant Religion, when divers of them are the Disgrace and Reproach of any Religion which they take upon them to profess. But can we believe that they are Protestants, or at least that they understand the Protestant Interest, who

Addres from *Ripon.* Addr. from *Salisbury.* Address from *Clifton, Dartmouth, Harnes,* &c. Addr. from *Norwich.* Addr from the Western Division of *Surrey.* Address from *Norwich.* Address from *Ripon.*

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who repreſent Diſſenters as equally dangerous to the Government & Eſtabliſhed Religion, as the Papiſts are? It would adminiſter a ground of too ill an Opinion of our Supreme Rulers and Publick Miniſters, ſhould they allow and approve what theſe men have ſuggeſted. For are there any among the Diſſenters, that have ſworn Obedience to a *Forreign* Power, that they ſhould be thus put into the ſame Liſt of dangerous perſons to the Government with the Papiſts? Or is there any Security that the Legiſlative Power can require of them for their Peaceableneſs, that they are not willing and ready to give? Yea, Is not the Religion of the Diſſenters eſtabliſhed by Law, as well as that of the Conformiſts, tho' there be ſome things Ordained, as the Accoutrements and Modes of the National Religion, which the Non-Conformiſts cannot ſubmit unto? For as the only Foundation upon which the Diſſenters go, is that their Faith and Worſhip are agreeable and according to the Scripture, which is the alone Rule of the mind of God to all his People, in what they are to believe and perform: So from the Authority which the Scripture hath allowed unto it by the Law of this Land, and by the Conſonancy of their Doctrine to the Eſtabliſh'd Articles of Faith, they humbly conceive that they have the countenance and warranty of the Law for their Religion. Nor doth the Law diſallow or forbid any thing which they profeſs; it only enjoyns ſome further things, which they cannot come up to. And as the Diſſenters do not oppoſe any one Doctrinal Article of the Church of *England*, ſo they blame and judge no man for the Canonical Obedience that they promiſe to the Biſhops, or their Conformity to the

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the Ceremonies; but merely beg that themſelves may be excuſed. And ſhould they be gratified as to all which in our preſent circumſtances they do deſire, it would amount only to this, That they may Preach the Goſpel without being liable to Impriſonment, Fiues, and Baniſhment. Nor do they covet Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, or Parochial Maintainance; tho' were it not for ſome things, which are made the *Teſts* to thoſe Places and Advantages, and which without any Inconveniency might be laid aſide, there are many of them that are as worthy of them as others. Neither can that which is ſtiled the Church of *England* ſuffer any diminution in the number of its Members by an Indulgence to Proteſtant Diſſenters, having both *this will I give thee*, and thus *ſaith the Migiſtrate* on their ſide, unleſs the Clergy ſhould fall ſhort in Abilities for their Function, and in having *Thus ſaith the Lord* to plead for them. But how dare theſe perſons, who have ſubſcribed the Addreſſes, aſſume the confidence to cenſure Parliaments, for going about to repeal Laws, which by woful Experience have been found not only uſeleſs, but inconvenient, both to the Proteſtant Religion, and the Safety of the Kingdom? For as Parliaments have Power to Enact Laws, ſo they have the ſame Power to Aboliſh them, whenſoever they find, that inſtead of anſwering the Ends which they were made for, they have proved prejudicial to the Common Good. And ſurely one may humbly ſay, and that without the leaſt Reflection upon the Grace and Favour with which the Addreſſes have been received, that two Parliaments, ſo fairly and unanimoſly choſen, and conſiſting of Gentlemen of the Chiefeſt Quality, beſt Parts, greateſt

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Wiſdom, moſt plentiful Eſtates, and firmeſt Integrity to the Intereſt of Religion and the Nation, and all, except a very few, Zealous Sons of the Church, and unfained Defenders of the preſent Hierarchy, Diſcipline, Forms and Rites of Worſhip; were in all probability as able and likely to know what will let in or keep out Popery, what will preſerve us from, or betray us into the hands and power of the Papiſts, as Twenty or Thirty perſons in a County or Corporation, moſt of whom are not worth Forty Shillings Freehold a year, and many of them not able ro ſpeak Ten words of ſenſe together. But it is eaſie to conjecture who in divers places ſet theſe Addreſſers at work, and who put that in reference to Proteſtant Diſſenters into ſo many Addreſſes, namely, either perſons Popiſhly inclined, that they might thereby continue and heighten our differences, and make us the more eaſily a prey to *Rome*; or ſome ignorant Clergy-men, who beſides their enmity at Phanaticks, have little elſe to recommend them to the obtaining a common and civil reſpect, but their *Caſſock* and their *Surplice*.

SECT. XIX.

And as if all this that I have with the greateſt ſincerity and juſtice repreſented unto you, were not enough to blaſt the credit of the Addreſſes, and to oppoſe the weakneſs and folly of ſuch as have ſubſcribed them; there is ſomething yet further, and which is infinitely more pernicious that they purſue and aim at, namely, to poſſeſs His Majeſty and the World with a belief, that there is a deſign carried on by Proteſtants againſt the King

King and the Government. Hence they not only thank His Majesty *For recollecting the several steps and advances by which we were betrayed into our former confusions*; but take upon them to observe, that there are some *ill men who labour the subversion of our Religion, Liberties and Properties, under the specious pretence of Reformation, being the same method that they brought to pass all the miseries of Usurpation and Tyranny that this Kingdom lately groan'd under*; and that *being seasoned with the old leaven of Common-wealth Principles, they have endeavoured to make a misunderstanding betwixt His Majesty and his people, and to throw us back into the same confusion we were delivered from by His Majesties happy Restauration*; and that not *only the good order and quiet of the Government hath been most wickedly attempted to be disturbed and shaken, but to be overthrown and utterly subverted, and the very Monarchy it self to be destroyed.* Surely had these persons who presume to suggest this unto His Majesty, known any Republicans or Fanaticks, *who by possessing the people with groundless fears and jealousies, would bring us into Anarchy and confusion, or that would subvert the known Laws of the Land, wherein our Religion, Liberty and Property are wound up*; they ought by their Allegiance to have deposed against them, and given in their names, that they might be prosecuted and come to suffer according to the greatness and quality of their Crimes. But alas! this was a Province they durst not undertake, and the attempting it would have too palpably laid open their Folly, and exposed their malice. And because many have been drawn to set their hands to Addresses, who do not well understand whence this clamour of a Presbyterian Plot proceeds, I shall briefly unfold the mystery that lies at the bottom of all this loud and groundless noise. The Papists being charged with a Hellish conspiracy against the

Addr. from *Southwark.*

Addr. from *Bristol.*

Addr. from *Reading.*

Addr. from *Derby.*

Addr. from *Monmouth.*

Addr. from *Ludlow.*

Addr. from some in the *Middle-Temple.*

Addr. from the Deputy-Lieuten. &c. of *Somerset.*

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perſon of the King, our Religion, Government, and the lives of all His Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects; and this being proved againſt them to the ſatisfaction of all the rational part of mankind, as well by their own Papers, as by the Teſtimonies of many unqueſtionable Witneſſes; and finding that neither their impudent denying it, nor their falſely ſcandalizing ſome, and endeavouring to debauch and corrupt others of the Kings Evidence, could either bring them off from the Scandal of this Plot, or free them from the Puniſhment, which were a Parliament permitted to Sit, more of them muſt undergo; they retreat to this as their laſt refuge, namely, the amuſing the Nation with the Buz of a *Presbyterian* and *Phanatick* Plot, carried on to overthrow the Government, and deſtroy the Monarchy, under pretence of proſecuting a *Popiſh* Conſpiracy. And towards the obtaining credit to this, they not only form'd the *Intrigue* of the *Meal-Tub*, but invented the Shams of Sir *Edmond-bury Godfrey*'s murdering himſelf, and my Lord *Howard*'s penning *Fitz-Harris*'s Libel; which tho' they have ſhamefully redounded upon themſelves, yet having no other game to play, they are ſtill labouring, partly by ſuborning Witneſſes, and hiring impudent Raſcals to ſwear Treaſon againſt Proteſtants, and partly by a groundleſs and impudent clamour, to infect unwary and heedleſs perſons with the perſwaſion of ſuch a deſign. And it is from the Papiſts that weak and credulous people have taken the ſcent of a Presbyterian Plot, *and aſcribe it to His Majeſties Wiſdom and Soveraign authority, that we are not relapſing into the miſeries and confuſions of Tyranny and Uſurpation, by the ſubtile artifice and cunning contrivances of the old enemies of the Monarchy and the Church, who by the inſinuations of Religion, Liberty and Property, prevail, upon weak and unwary men to make them*

Addr. from *Eye* in *Suffolk*.

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them ſubſervient to their factious and ambitious deſigns. Surely, theſe men never conſidered what a notorious ſcandal they have hereby endeavoured to faſten, not only upon many of His Majeſties peaceable, beſt and moſt loyal Subjects, but what a vile aſperſion they have caſt upon the whole Kingdom, which greatly ſuffers in its honour, by ſtanding repreſented in the face of all the World, as broken and divided within it ſelf, and ſinking back again into all confuſion: Nor have they duly weighed what a Reflection they lodge upon the Kings Government and Conduct, that He who was ſo lately Reſtored by the unanimous Conſent, and with the univerſal Joy of all his People, ſhould in ſo few years have loſt the Love and Reverence of ſo great a number of His Subjects, as are intended here to be be accuſed. Can there be any thing vented to the diminiſhing His Majeſties Reputation more abroad, and for diſcouraging Forreign Princes and States from entring into thoſe Alliances which are neceſſary for the good, as well of His Majeſties Kingdoms, as of Chriſtendom, and for the leſſening the expectation and confidence which thoſe with whom we are in League, ought to remain poſſeſt with, of our being able to anſwer the ends of them, than this account which theſe men preſent His Majeſty with, of the poſture of the Nation, and temper of his People, and which our *Gazettes* have diffuſed into all Countries? And doth not this alſo directly tend to the filling His Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects with Jealouſies one of another, thereby to take them off from their watchfulneſs over, and to weaken their endeavours againſt the Papiſts, who labour no leſs to deſtroy the Diſſenters, than thoſe that Conform to the National Form of Worſhip, and to the Eſtabliſhed Diſcipline and Ceremonies,

and for the withſtanding of whoſe Bloody Deſigns, and ſaving our Religion and the Nation from the effects of their malicious and deſperate Conſpiracies, the united Hearts and Hands of all true Proteſtants will be found little enough? And will not this Character, which the Addreſſes are pleaſed to give of the ſtate of *England*, wonderfully embolden that aſpiring Monarch, the *French* King, to proceed in his encroachments upon the Dominions of his Neighbours, as judging himſelf ſecure from any check which the King of *Great Britain* can give him? For as His Majeſty can be in no capacity to diſcourage him from further Attempts againſt the Peace of *Europe*, or to hinder his Conqueſt, but by being great in the Hearts of all his own People, and in a happy Correſpondence and Conjunction with his Parliament; ſo we have reaſon to fear, that they who endeavour to beget Miſunderſtandings betwixt His Majeſty and his Subjects, and to create in them mutual Diſtruſts each of other, are either Penſioners to *France*, or under the Conduct and Influence of them that are.

SECT. XX.

But as if it were not enough for thoſe perſons, who have ſubſcribed the Addreſſes, to faſten ſo vile a charge as you have heard, upon many of the people, whom the better to reconcile credit to what they ſay, they are pleaſed to call *Republicans* and *Fanaticks*, they have alſo taken the boldneſs to involve the Two laſt Parliaments under the guilt of the ſame crimes and accuſations. Accordingly they tell His Majeſty, *with what an infinite patience and condeſcention, he did ſubmit to hear unreaſonable jealouſies promoted in them, illegal courſes and proceedings vindicated, and all the great and moſt benign Indulgences of their Soveraigns goodneſs miſrepreſented.* And they thank the King, *for His ſteady reſolutions of maintaining the*

Addr. from *Okehampton.*

Rights

Rights of the Crown, &c. *againſt the Arbitrary Proceedings of the House of Commons in the two laſt Parliaments*; *And for not Signing ſuch Bills as were prepared for His Majeſties Subjects to aſſociate to deſtroy the Succeſſion, and extirpate Monarchy.* Yea, they profeſs *Their Admiration of His Majeſties Princely Wiſdom and Counſel in the conduct of his Affairs, in obviating* (*viz.* by Diſſolving Parliaments) *the Deſigns of the pernicious Enemies of the Church and State.* And declare, *That they cannot but admire His Majeſties Tranſcendent and Sacred Wiſdom, which in that dangerous and confuſed Juncture, did ſo ſeaſonably interpoſe, and ſo calmly ſuppreſs the threatning Flames which were breaking forth.* And thereupon they preſent their Acknowledgments to His Majeſty, *For timely preventing* (by Diſſolving thoſe Parliaments) *the Deſigns of Ill men, who in the ſame Age were a ſecond Time attempting by the ſame Methods as formerly, the deſtruction of His Loyal Subjects, the diminution of his Lawful Power, and the debaſing the Grandeur of the* Engliſh *Throne.* I know not by what Name theſe falſe and ſlanderous Accuſations charged upon two Parliaments, ought to be called; but it is to be hop'd, that the next Parliament will at once tell the Nation, by what name the Law ſtiles them, and what Puniſhment it hath allotted for thoſe that have made themſelves Guilty of ſo vile and ſcandalous an Aſperſion, as that two Parliaments had gone about to deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion, as Legally eſtabliſhed, and to extirpate Monarchy: Whereas thoſe excellent perſons, of which the two laſt Houſes of Commons conſiſted, had many of them ventured their Lives, and loſt their Eſtates for the Monarchy; and all of them were ſuch, as upon Principles of Reaſon and from Inclination are true Lovers of it. They not only had too late and ſad Experience of a Commonwealth, to be fond of returning to it again; but they know, that no other Government can agree with the Genius of the People, and ſuit the ballance of the Nation, but a well-Regulated Monarchy, ſuch as ours is by the Laws of our Conſtitution. Nor can His Majeſty be ſuppoſed to believe, that ever they will prove true to the Monarchy, who are not true to the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament. For they who can revile and deſpiſe one Eſſential part of the Conſtitution, have nothing to oblige them to adhere to the other, but the proſpect of Preferment, or worldly Gain. And to ſee men countenanced, that revile any one

Addr. from Norwich.

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part of the Legiſlative Authority, may be too ill a preſident, and which His Majeſty is obliged to ſee redreſſed, from the Love that he beareth to the Crown. For whoſoever ſtrikes at Parliaments, does by undermining the Government as by Law Eſtabliſhed, ſhake the very Pillars of the Throne.

SECT. XXI.

Nor do they only intimate a Deſign carried on againſt the Government, but they inſinuate a Change to be made by Force; and upon that ſuppoſal, while we are in, and to the apprehenſions of all ſober perſons, likely to continue in perfect Peace, they offer their Lives and Fortunes to the diſpoſal of one part of our Legiſlative Conſtitution and Power, in oppoſition to another. *We yield*, ſay they, *our Lives and Fortunes at Your Majeſties Command, and will to the laſt drop of our Blood, and Penny of our Fortunes, ſtand by your Majeſty in the Defence of Your Royal Perſon, Crown and Government, and Lawful Succeſſors.* So that by reading the Addreſſes, one would be inclined to think, that theſe men conſtrue the King's Declaration, as the Erection of the Royal Standard; and that they intend theſe Papers for the Muſter-Rolls of thoſe that are to fight under His Majeſties Enſigns: But as we hope that His Majeſty will never have occaſion for War, unleſs it be in relieving his Allies abroad againſt the Ambition of *France*, who to all his other Invaſions upon the Dominions of his Neighbours, is at this time about employing his Forces againſt the Subjects of His Majeſties Kinſman, the Prince *Palatine*; ſo we hope, that both in that Caſe, and in any other, wherein His Wiſdom and Juſtice will ſuffer Him to engage, He ſhall not only have the Treaſure of all his People, through the Gift of a Parliament, at His Command; but all their Perſons and Lives ready to be Sacrificed in His Service. It is no marvel that ſuch thirſt after War, who have little to live upon in Time of Peace, and who may expect to be Gainers by Troubles: But His Majeſty, who beſides the care He is to to have of the Lives and Eſtates of all his Subjects, hath more to loſe Himſelf alone, than all his People, will not, I judge, be prevailed upon to hearken to raſh and heady Councels. And how unequal ought they to apprehend themſelves to the Body of the Nation, who when they have had the Folly and Confidence to preſent an Addreſs in the Name of a whole County, have at the ſame time acknowledged, That they were

Addr. from *Winchester.*
Addr. from *Briſtol.*
Addr. from *Cardiffe.*
Addr. from *Monmouth.*

not

not able to carry it for any that His Majesty might be inclined to recommend, to serve in the next Parliament for the Shire. Addr. from Bedford-shire.

SECT. XXII.

The last thing I would observe concerning the Addresses, is their making small numbers of men without previous advice had with each other, and without being authorised or entrusted, to judge of the State of the Kingdom. For tho' it be lawful for any one man, and much more for any number of men, to represent to His Majesty their own wants and dangers, and accordingly beg redress and relief; yet to declare the State of the Nation, belongs to no number of private persons whatsoever, but appertains only to the Parliament, as being the Representative of the whole Kingdom. And therefore the Addressers, by assuming to themselves a Right and Authority to determine about the State of the Nation, and to judge concerning those things which the *Trustees* of all the people met in the great Councel, are only proper and by Law allowed to meddle with, have in my apprehension made too near an approach to the altering the whole Government. And as they must expect that the judgment which they have passed upon persons and things will at one time or another come under a review; so matters which have either been misrepresented by them, or in reference to which Parliaments have been arraigned, may before then, come to be so well understood by His Majesty, and all things so well adjusted between him and his people, that the Addressers may neither find themselves able to decline, nor be in a condition to controll the jurisdiction of the next Parliament, to which we shall at present leave them.

SECT. XXIII.

But whereas you may be ready to enquire, that if the Addresses be so pernicious, both in the subject matter and tendency of them, and so contrary to the general sense of the Nation, as I have declared; why the people do not by Petitions from all parts of the Kingdom let the King know so much? This I shall return you a just and true answer unto, and then discharge you from any further trouble.

1st. It is the nature and temper of some men most to disserve the cause, and prejudice the interest which they have espoused, when they are quietly let alone to run their course and to take their full swing. For according to the old Proverb, Give some people

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People Rope enough and they will Hang themſelves. The only way to know what they would be at, was for others to look ſilently on a while. And through giving them ſcope, their own madneſs and folly hath made them more ridiculous, than any oppoſition whatſoever from others could have rendred them.

2*dly*, The Petition firſt from my *Lord Mayor*, the *Court of Aldermen*, and the *Common-Council* of *London*, and then from the *Common-Hall*, is a Copy of what all the Nation would ſay. In *London*, as in a Glaſs, we ſee the face of the whole Kingdom: For being the *Epitome* as well as *Metropolis* of the Nation, whatſoever it ſays, is a compendious expreſſing of the ſenſe of *England*.

3*dly*, Men have been willing to forbear Petitioning, leſt by the diſparity in the numbers to Petitions and to Addreſſes, ſome, thinking all ſafe through the conſideration of the multitude that aim'd at what themſelves did, might grow more ſecure than their dangers will well allow; and leſt others upon the ſame inducement might have taken occaſion to grow more inſolent than their duty and intereſt obligeth them unto.

4*thly*, His Majeſty having received the Addreſſes with that favour which he did, wiſe men thought it beſt not to adminiſter occaſion of his refuſing Petitions that they foreſaw would come accompanied with more hands. It is good manners in Subjects not to grate too hard upon their Prince; but if he have done any thing wherein they can't acquieſce with that contentment which they deſire, to give him time and liberty to recollect himſelf.

5*thly*, If Petitions ſhall be judged either neceſſary or convenient, it is not ſo late but that they may be yet ſet on foot. And if it ſhould prove uneaſie for any to find it ſo, they muſt blame themſelves, who by their unwearied carrying on of Addreſſes, make it needful for His Majeſties good Subjects at laſt to undeceive him, which they can no other way do, at leaſt till a Parliament come, but by Petitions. I am,

SIR,

June 28. 81. *Your moſt ready and Humble Servant.*

FINIS.

ERRATA.

PAge 8. l. 19. for *was*, r. *is*. p. 9. l. 3. del. *that*. p. 14. for *an*, r. *and*. p. 21. l. 12. after *bringing*, add *in*. p. 32. l. 24. for *oppoſe*, r. *expoſe*